174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
[644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[644] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum."
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihăggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Attaret was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihăggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned [554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, 631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

[192] Amrar, in Tamashek, means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihăggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

[171] The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least among the Ihăggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad, reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.), tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal. Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.

On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they themselves own slaves.
[657]

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Tâïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Tâïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Tâïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Tâïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihággaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Tâïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
●643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioual,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaïen and the Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mḳaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ămastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ămâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ăkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ăkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ămâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Amenokal Aïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Heguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Amenokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The amenokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Aït Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Aït Loaïen.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives,
[643] and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amenokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhafok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

## Tobol of the Taitok

631 The Taitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Air where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amĕnokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kĕradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kĕradji was kept as amĕnokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[21]

back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioue1, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis and Isoknaten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastan.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zena (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the aménokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the aménokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
[482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492] their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ifaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aures. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[illegible] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

293 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance. Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the aménokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[682] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
[766] Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
763 sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
[567] wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

492
484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486
643 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

[579] When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427
492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484
679 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

In the last few years a number of notables, including the amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them to avoid rocks.

The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the 614 Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier ● [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is 622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by 562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.
622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
● [643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 350 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
771 been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. 212

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" عار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no
longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the
Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among
the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the
right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and
a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and
loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad
tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up
the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic
means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in
order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs
said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order
to convert them to Islamism.

4: Benhazera--45 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/ 173 631

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela. 631 643

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents. 643

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Attar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred. [565]

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which did not pay the tioussé to him but paid it to the chiefs of the new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/), and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?" and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of "amr'ar", which means primarily "old man," like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Taïtoq bore the title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confederation, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad tribe.

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

Sj Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1403 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg" *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 565 631 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 643 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ouui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

[643]
[137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif.

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643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing

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642
643

[114]

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | Kouroulobo<br>Imerhamekouan<br>Toroui |
| Igetofen | | | Beinabo<br>Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abelemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | Ounouchor |
| Itagan | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 107 | | Ti-n-Telezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Telourak |
| Ibararochchiten | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Endegra |

grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship between the clans and their traditional grazing-grounds. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 [773] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] [605] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 614 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8) which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As-clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 451 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[p. 402, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [178] 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 654 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tesuit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Inesleman Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* 33 | *Kel Tarha* (part of the Ait Lamkra clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit* 60<br>*Kel Ouhet* 70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Rhas Mellen* | The Isekkemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | |
| | *Ikadeian* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation center of Tit. | |

### *The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1955, p. 137) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble clans termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Ouilli* (sing. *Agg Ouilli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Inesleman* (sing. *Anesleni*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela, Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tamili-n-Aljer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amrar*, pl. *Imraren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have
[701] shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[727] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abeilag* comprising half
[721] of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n ettebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tchele pay their tiouse separately as follows:- 643 614 651
1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:- 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ḍela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ḍela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ḍela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ḍela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *emehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
614 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
651 But the relation *(temaṭlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[262] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels
[574] are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaɣ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amachaɣ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaɣ* (sing. *Amahaɣ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahaɣ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

/47 cont. /

571/463 C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inaden | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571/619/643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571/564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar
●[643] is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission
[651] of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-
[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| *Age* | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 *tihatin* | (2 years old) | 10 *titlayin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 *tekkemifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 *tiyuyar* | (4 years old) | 10 *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 *tilemlayin* | (grey) |
| 10 *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 *tirezgunin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 *tizerzafin* | (piebald) |
| | | 10 *tiwinayin* | (white cornea) |

The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

Text continues on p. 104

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [578] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 575 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[687] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
672 tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tafhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Rali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Rali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imesiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḴI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĜMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĜ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḴ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*<br>Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | ṬEẐẐA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annualy. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé*** tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Areḍsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Areḍsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaro-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernan* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Relayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Relayddin* territory to which all members of the *Relayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍrewen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hareges* (or *amezzaṛ n hareges*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Rali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikehan*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iwkkemaren*).

the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

(4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Tamenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imaṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imaṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Radames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [565] as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Radames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Ur[illegible]n*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imaṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imaṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*ettebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1700 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tallatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

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as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imesiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed so-called drum-groups or *ettebelen* (sing. *ettebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum known as *ettebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ* and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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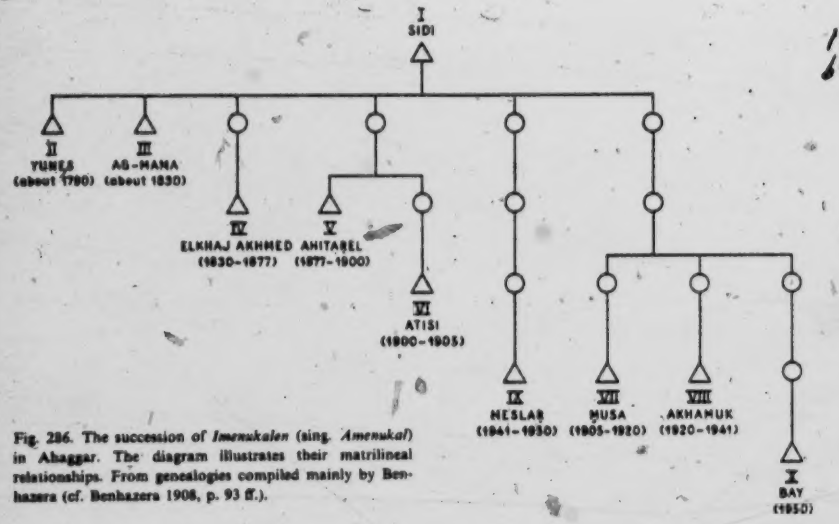


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ḍela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ḍela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ḍela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inrar* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Tefedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Ifoyas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Urayen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireǧenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireǧenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* | 33 | *Kel Ahnet* | 127 | *Kel I-n-tunin* | |
| | There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | | *Iwerweren* | 47 | (about 20 tents in 1938). | |
| | | | *Tégehé-n-Efis* | 127 | | |
| | | | *Ikuffisen* | 84 | | |
| | | | *Ikechchemaḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | | | |
| | | | *Irechchumen* A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | | | |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Turka* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | | *Kel Terurit* | 62 |
| | | | | | *Kel Uhet* | 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | | | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aḍub-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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643 651 614 613 565 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:— 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads, are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage, [634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 634 565 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal [614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief [614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 634 681 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*) among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151). Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance, [684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly [682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth [614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. [683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and [178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished [648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 643 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Télalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*ettebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḳ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛassaten*. The *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elbarbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 643 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Ayumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

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According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan.

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164).

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izyan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to

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Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-téseht.

The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

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as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be recognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwllemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[678] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*, and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

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there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.

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the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwti* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADṚAR

The *Kel Aḍraṛ* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imṛad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeṛen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imṛad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *ſiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademakset* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made
[648] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeŋ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadnul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 428 Arabs are on the whole most dissimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Inesleman* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwllemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Inesleman* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements 1147 during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Inesiemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kél Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Béla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Béla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imrad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

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Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.